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became the custom of the times to found wealthy religious establishments, and to endow them with lands and vassals ; and in several instances powerful principalities were erected in favor of particular prelates of the church, invested with all the qualities of temporal sovereignty, except that of hereditary succession. And thus a new complexion was given to the whole face of Europe. The people becoming the liegemen or subjects of the barons, counts, or dukes, bound to follow them in peace and war, but absolved from direct dependence upon the kings or emperors, all effective power was vested in the persons of the great vassals of the crown ; who, by continual encroachment on the royal attributes, by successive usurpations, and by skilfully availing themselves of the force of circumstances, came to be each supreme within the limits of his feudal jurisdiction. Out of this condition of things arose the power of the Counts of Holland and Zeeland, the Bishops of Utrecht and Liege, the Marquess of Antwerp, the Dukes of Brabant, and all the host of petty princes, who appear on the stage at the beginning of the modern history of the Netherlands.\*

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ART. VIII. — *Society in America*, by HARRIET MARTINEAU, Author of "Illustrations of Political Economy." In 2 volumes. 12mo. New York. Saunders & Otley.

ON one point, unfortunately, Miss Martineau could have been at no loss, from the moment of deciding to write a book of Travels in this country. America her theme, satire was to "be her song ;" the bookseller and his patrons are to be satisfied with no less than a pungent piquancy of remark, and this they stand ready to compensate with no stinted bounty. To an Englishman with the advantage of some notoriety at home to start with, and some shrewdness in the selection of materials which any journey in a foreign country will supply, a tour in America is a pretty fortune. Thus the nests of the respectable line of the Fearons, Fidlers, Halls, Hamiltons, and Trollopes, are understood to have been comfortably feath-

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\* Guisot, *Civiliz. de France*, tom. ii.

ered. When Mrs. Butler, in the exuberance of her wanton spirits, and the petulance of her unmanageable wit, had thrown off a mass of pleasantries about her future home, some of which her maturer judgment disapproved, it is notorious, that the substitution of those stars, which deform her page to the reader's eye, gave far more annoyance to the parties concerned in the money investment. No wonder. As often as those lines of stars stand in the place of some well-turned jeer, they probably represent a good golden guinea on the wrong side of the account of sales. The more praise is due to the honest and womanly feeling that made the sacrifice.

The point of view, from which Miss Martineau should look upon this country, was dictated to her in advance by her position in her own. A vine clasping the gnarled oak of the Westminster Review, — a Benthamite economist, — a radical of the radicals, — she was bound to commend, in general terms, the democratic spirit of our institutions, even if it should be found that, when she came to specifications, she was playing, with an English instinct, into aristocratic hands.

With these obvious considerations in view, we were able in part to escape a perplexity, which otherwise would have been not unnatural, in listening to the first comments on Miss Martineau's work. It so happened, that, appearing just after the completion of our last number, and other matters being then upon our hands, some weeks elapsed before we found a convenient time to satisfy such curiosity as we had respecting it. Meanwhile, we could not but observe the fact, that, while all readers found much in it to be vehemently condemned, most found something to be strongly praised. Everybody's prejudices, loves, hates, dreams, seemed to be "cottoned to" somewhere in these two compendious volumes; everybody's tastes and feelings to be outraged somewhere else. There could be no mistake about it; for the newspapers, of all inclinations, held the same ambiguous language as the drawing-rooms. We listened to all, with a very moderate degree of surprise. We said to ourselves, If a good-natured report were what was wanted, we can understand how a liberal should write upon our national character, at least upon our national institutions, in a consistently laudatory tone. Toryism, on the other hand, being the inspiring Muse, Church and King the key-note, we might safely enough guess, — but that some experience has spared us the need of guessing, — how bruised and black-balled we were to come out of a tourist's hands.

But the present case is neither the one nor the other. The position is peculiar. The wholesale democrat is to act the satyrist in a democratic country. Friends and foes across the water are both to have their portion in due season. The *rôle* is a difficult one to play. Rather, it would be so, to any one who should see its difficulties, and care for them. But the preliminary question disposed of, a single course remains. There must be a free giving and taking, from beginning to end of the book ; and if any reader is at the trouble of observing that the parts do not hang well together, he can have the reconciling of them for his pains. Moreover, in the present instance, the traveller is a lady, received with a very cordial hospitality in most parts of the country. Hers have not been merely the opportunities for collecting facts and opinions, which the public house and public conveyance furnish. Except when in transit, she has hardly seen the interior of our hotels. With that friendly welcome which happily a respectable woman may here command, she has been admitted to the unsuspecting confidence of very many a fireside. If there prevails to any extent, a sentiment which she has not heard expressed ; if there exists so much as a singularity, in any class of minds, which has escaped her knowledge ; if there is any misapprehension or exaggeration even, that haunts the musing and the wayward, which has not been mourned over in her hearing ; if there is any one of those morbid vagaries, into which weak heads are impelled by sour or restless tempers, that in some *tête-à-tête* has not been commended to her patronage, of course some unaccountable accident must have been the cause. If, among the unlucky oddities with which this part of the world, like every other, is rife, there are any which she has not marked, she is not the observing person we had been led to take her for. Undoubtedly, if she has been careful to pack as she went, she has put up another Pandora's box, full of discordant mischiefs, such as an inexperienced antiquity had not the art to feign. If she have been a mere credulous listener, careful only to reflect honestly from her own mind the various views which have been held up to it by different parties, and *cliques*, and confidants, no marvel that her readers, belonging severally to the same classes as her several informers, should each encounter now and then that which precisely suits, as well as often that which vexes them.

So much for our poor theory by way of accounting for a

rather peculiar fact. An examination of the book has only so far convicted us of error, as that we find the inconsistencies, which we had been led to look and account for in the discussion of matters of fact and circumstance, to be no less apparent in the treatment of questions of a more abstract and philosophical character. Here, of course, the fault is no longer in the author's "stars, but in herself." It is unpleasant saying it of one, whose mind has been exercised in such studies as those of Miss Martineau, but a sense of truth extorts from us the declaration, that only one thing has struck us more, in reading her volumes, than the extreme inexactness and confusion of ideas which pervades them. True it is, that philosophical tours are not to be satisfactorily written, like picturesque tours, by the road-side ; and we are ready to believe that this work would have been reduced to more consistency, but for the haste in which it is understood to have been at last tossed to the press. As it is, it is out of the question for us to undertake either to controvert all of its doctrines which we account erroneous, or select what we find reason to approve. The latter undertaking would only be to cull our creed on a large variety of subjects, from a heap of tangled ravellings of thought ; and we have no courage for a task so much like that of the fairy tale. Should we attempt the former, when we were flattering ourselves that we had made out our case in opposition to one part of the book, we should but make ourselves liable to be referred to some other page, and told that what we had been urging was precisely what was there illustrated. Jortin, we believe it was, who said of Ecclesiastical History, that it was a Briareus, with a hundred hands, each smiting against the rest. Miss Martineau is no Briareus, nor a giant of any kind ; but assuredly, her fair palms do smite against each other, most spiritedly, from beginning to end of her book.

We have said, that there was one thing in Miss Martineau's work, which had struck us even more than its want of clearness and consistency of thought. It is a thing which we have observed with the more regret, because we are enforced by high authority to look on it as an alarming prognostic of permanent misuse of her decidedly uncommon powers. "Seest thou," said the Jewish sage, "a man wise in his own conceit ? There is more hope of a fool, than of him." Miss Martineau is no fool ;—we have been looking over some of her earlier

writings to renew the satisfaction of our minds upon that head ; —there would be more hope of her, if she were. She has talent enough to embolden her in her perversities ; to make her imagine, that she sees the bearings of an argument, and the merits of a system, as clearly as she certainly does the features of a landscape, and the common springs of action in society ; and to win commendations for her, which she too hastily interprets into a warrant for a very boisterous proclamation of very suddenly formed opinions. Lively talent there is no denying her, and skill in writing. Her “Traditions of Palestine,” entitled, in the edition here, “Times of the Saviour,” the work which introduced her to the American reading public, we have not seen since its first appearance ; but we well remember to have read it then with uncommon pleasure. We have heard the “Five Years of Youth,” called her best production, but we cannot profess to be ourselves of that opinion. An agreeable tone of gentle and just feeling pervades it, and the moral is of the first importance ; but this, after being indicated somewhat too roundly, as it strikes us, at the beginning of the tale, is then made to wait too long for further inculcation. The story lags, and the lesson is scarcely helped along, till the reader has been conducted to the last scenes, when it is impressed, powerfully it is true, but by means of rather improbable incidents. Of the Prize Essays on Religious Subjects, we have seen but one ; and that, we must own, appeared to us decidedly crude and heavy. In the two volumes of Miscellanies published in this country, composed of contributions to periodical works, we find several pieces which appear to us to be entitled to preservation in this form, though the work has failed to meet the taste of our American purchasers. Miss Martineau would, however, probably prefer to rest her reputation on her series of writings, ostensibly illustrative of the principles of Economics ; the “Illustrations of Political Economy,” “Poor Laws and Paupers Illustrated,” and “Illustrations of Taxation.” We have no doubt, that in this preference she is right, though our high estimation of the books in question would be founded on different merits, from what give them value in her eyes. Some of them are charming fictions, —disclosing a shrewd observation of life and character, and often no little dramatic power. As to the economical doctrines which they were intended to enforce, — true or false, — it was neither any novel nor any marvellously

striking character which they possessed, that gave the writings popularity. The present wonder about the doctrines, as far as there was any, was, that they had installed themselves in a young woman's brain. Like Pope's grubs in amber,

"The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,  
But wonder how \* \* \* they got there."

We are not about to contest their truth. We have too much consideration for our twenty or thirty faithful South Carolina patrons, the whole number, that, from a very respectable roll, our former lucubrations on the subject have left us. We say no more than that the heartiest friend of a protecting system, and the related doctrines, may read those works without always having his pleasure in any degree alloyed by what he might account their heresies. We have just risen from the perusal of one. "Albeit unused to the melting mood," it made us weep, so pathetic and well-imagined was the story. But as to any theory therein exhibited, we declare ourselves to have been utterly innocent of so much as a suspicion of it, till we came to one of those "Summaries of Principles," so judiciously placed at the end, (like the prudent painter's subscription, "this is a house,") to illustrate to the reader, what it was that had been illustrated.

But whether these little books were somewhat better or somewhat less good, they by no means sufficed to justify the egregious self-complacency, in whose halo their writer was revealed to the "wondering upturned gaze of mortals," on this side of the water. "That degree of self-confidence," says Miss Martineau, since her return, (*Travels*, Vol. II. p. 164,) "which is commonly called conceit, grows in favor with me perpetually." We are incredulous. Till we have some more disinterested corroboration of the statement, we shall adhere to the opinion, that that sentiment had reached its height in this lady, long before her departure from the United States, and that it was scarcely capable of any accession of strength from the time when her first footstep was planted on our shores. We never knew sane man or woman, in whom it appeared to have reached such a morbid developement. Her coming was an Avatar. Her progress through the country was a Visitation and Inspection. Had any thing recalled her suddenly, she would doubtless have addressed a letter to the President, like the young Frenchman, Louis Buonaparte, to explain the ap-

parent disrespect of not repairing to Washington, to wait upon the head of the nation. Sooth to say, this delusion of fancied importance was a phenomenon. It was not laughable ; like one of Matthews's best exhibitions, it was absolutely too ludicrous to laugh at. So perfect was it in its kind, as to reach the point of a sort of sublimity. *Mirror magis*. We tell no tales, when we say this. We should have known it equally well, had we enjoyed no opportunity of personal observation. The book before us is only the last act of the play, in which the consistency of the character is well kept up ; — more *prononcé*, as, in the catastrophe it should be, but still the same.

If the conceit had been all, the pleasure throughout might have been mutual. The one party might have been happy in the complacency which it diffused, the other in the amusement which it afforded. But as there is a good-natured, so there is a froward and contemptuous, and therefore offensive vanity. Miss Martineau has a word in very free use, when any thing is said or done, which does not meet her views. We do not mean “disgusting,” though that also unduly abounds ; but “insolent.” To “thank her for teaching us that word,” would be to be thankful for a small favor, and we will not do it. We cannot so much as make acknowledgments for any pleasure which her own liberal applications of it have afforded us. It is language commonly thought to indicate neither good sense, good temper, good manners, nor good taste ; especially coming from an accomplished young lady, in whom one looks, if not absolutely for the maturity, at least for the meekness, of wisdom. But if it has been even oftener in our minds while we have read the book, than it has been before us on the page, the fault is none of ours. In short, Miss Martineau's rash and worthless judgments are too often expressed in terms, having an unpleasant character of rude assumption. Captain Hall was not bashful. Captain Hamilton played the “bold dragon.” Miss Kemble was a brilliant hoyden from the green-room. Mrs. Trollope, though, in some matters, not wanting in sagacity to see what she was about, was on the whole decidedly and confidently all-knowing and free-spoken. But, in this ungracious peculiarity, the last of the tourists must be owned to be “fairly worth the seven.”

We do not care to make a separate point of our author's facility of belief. Credulity is the almost necessary foible of travellers. If they are to see and hear nothing abroad which



is novel and peculiar, they might as well not have left their home ; and particularly if they intend to write a book, the more extraordinary the information which is given them, the better will it serve their turn. One is often, however, compelled to observe, that Miss Martineau's easiness of faith is great beyond the common measure. She visits, for instance, the prisoners in the Philadelphia Penitentiary, and pleasantly records, " sooner or later, all told me their stories in full." It would have been worth while to hear " those sweet confidings of the past " ; only that most persons would have had their satisfaction qualified by the thought, that the inmates of state prisons are not exactly the sort of people, most given to reposing a perfectly ingenuous confidence.

Let us try some of the issues we have raised, and perhaps one or two others which may fall in our way, by a few extracts from the first Part, of the four into which the work is divided. It is entitled " Politics." Now Politics, in relation to America, where some new and curious experiments have been trying (or been *being* tried, as our author would phrase it,) make a high theme in the judgment of some discerning minds ; a theme, which, it might be thought, would be approached with some diffidence, by a stranger of a moderate degree of modesty. The poet commemorates a description of persons, who, he says, " rush in, where angels fear to tread." We certainly do not class Mrs. Trollope with the angelic company, and we have already said, that we are equally far from assigning Miss Martineau to the other class indicated in this antithesis. Yet Mrs. Trollope, in her feminine timidity, was fain to say ; " I am in no one way competent to judge of the political institutions of America ; and if I should occasionally make an observation on their effects, as they meet my superficial glance, they will be made in the spirit and with the feeling of a woman, who is apt to tell what her first impressions may be, but unapt to reason back from effects to their causes. Such observations, if they be unworthy of much attention, are also obnoxious to little reproof ; " and again ; " Both as a woman and a stranger, it might be unseemly for me to say, that I do not like their government ; and therefore I will not say so." Miss Martineau has no such misgivings. Hear how she despatches two such small matters as the upper house of the national legislature, and the independence of the national judiciary.

"The principle of the general government is, that it governs the entire people as one nation, and not as a league of States. There ought, in consistency with this, to be no state representation at all; and the Senate is an anomaly. An anomalous institution cannot be very long-lived. A second chamber, on a more consistent principle, will probably be established in its place, to fulfil its functions as a Court of Review, and as a check upon the precipitation of the other house, and, if need be, upon the encroachments of the executive. There is yet more of compromise involved in this institution of the Senate; as might be expected, since there is no end of compromise when principle is once departed from; yet there are statesmen who defend it on other grounds than that its establishment was necessary to the foundation of any federal government at all. One observed to me, 'Some things look well in theory, and fail in practice. This may not be justifiable in theory; but it works well.' If this last sentence be true, the well-working of the Senate is only a temporary affair; an accident. Its radical change becomes a question of time merely; and the recent agitation of the question of Instructions seems to indicate that the time is not very far distant.

"The appointment of the judges for life is another departure from the absolute republican principle. There is no actual control over them. Theirs is a virtually irresponsible office. Much can be and is said in defence of this arrangement; and whatever is said, is most powerfully enforced by the weight of character possessed by the judiciary, up to this day. But all this does not alter the fact, that irresponsible offices are an inconsistency in a republic. With regard to all this compromise, no plea of expediency can alter the fact that, while the House of Representatives is mainly republican, the Senate is only partially so, being anomalous in its character, and its members not being elected immediately by the people; and that the judiciary is not republican at all, since the judges are independent of the nation, from the time of their appointment."—Vol. i. pp. 41, 42.

Miss Martineau doubtless knows how these things are, having given the days and nights of so many years to the study of the masters of political wisdom, and having so signalized herself by the writing of some dozens of agreeable little books. It perplexes one, however, to remember, that there were three persons, not without knowledge and prudence, named Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, who were of a different way of thinking, and that the views set forth by them, on these heads, in a book which they put together, and which has ever

since been regarded by us as our manual of constitutional law, were approved with an extraordinary unanimity of assent by the sages of our Revolution, he whom we call the "Father of his country," being unsurpassed in the cordiality of his attachment to them. It was the fancy of such dreamers, that, — whereas it was an unquestionable inference from the history of representative governments, that the law-making power ought to be committed to two assemblies constituted upon different principles, — the natural and fit basis for this arrangement already existed among us, in the relation which the American citizen sustained on the one hand to the united nation, and on the other to some one of the several States, which hitherto had been to all intents independent communities, and still were to continue such for certain purposes ; and that again, the only security for the freeman's continued enjoyment of his freedom, — as against domestic usurpation, — was to be found under the Ægis of a judicial administration, the ministers of which should not be allowed to feel, that the swaying of justice to conciliate the tyrant few, or the tyrant many, was the condition of their places and their livelihood. Little as we think of Miss Martineau's capacity for perceiving the bearings of such a question, still the ignorant flippancy, with which she treats it, would have satisfied us that she had never seen "The Federalist," if she had not happened to make a long quotation from one of its numbers. She has seen it, however ; and the knowledge of that fact forbids us to take any pains towards her "enlightenment." If she has seen it without caring to read its expositions of what, in the muddy infatuation of her vanity, she undertakes so summarily to dispose of, she has little curiosity for information which would do her good. If she has read those expositions, and yet finds herself at liberty to use such prating, it is certain she would be proof against our feebler arguments. — As for the rest, it has not escaped the reader's observation, that she finds that official competency, moral and intellectual, which we take to be contemplated as the great end in the arrangement of official functions, to have been, in fact, secured by what she accounts the present faulty organization of the judiciary department. Nor is the actual result materially different, it seems, in respect to that crying theoretical evil, the constitution of the Federal Senate ; for, forgetting herself, perhaps, she says, a few pages further on ;

"The honor in which the Senate is held must depend on its preserving the character, which, on the whole, it has hitherto maintained. A nobler legislative body, for power and principle, has probably never been known. Considering the number of individuals of whom it is composed, its character has, perhaps, been as remarkable as that of the noble array of Presidents, of which the United States have to boast. If, amidst its indirect mode of election, and long term of office, it should prove equally stable in principle, and flexible in its methods of progress, it may yet enjoy a long term of existence." [Just now, it could not "be very long lived."] — Vol. I. p. 54.

As against the chief executive functionary, Miss Martineau assures us that we are safe enough ;

"It does not appear as if the President could work any permanent effect upon the mind and destiny of the nation." "He can do little unless he acts, on the whole, in accordance with the mind of the people. If he has any power, it is because the people are with him; in which case he cannot be very destructive to their interests."—Vol. I. pp. 55, 56.

Amen. We too are hopeful patriots, and we hope and think that no President is likely to undo us. But we like to have better reasons for our thought than that to which Miss Martineau would help us ; for we recollect to have read, "in our sad and philosophic youth," of one Julius Cæsar and one Cromwell, who had the people with them, but neither the people nor the people's liberties fared particularly well at their crimson hands.

There is a deal of detail and speculation in this part of the work, about the mixture and antagonism of aristocrats and democrats in this republican society of ours, the origin of the distinction, the causes, extent, and acrimony of the existing mutual repugnancy, and other kindred things. It all shows nothing else than that our author, bringing with her an English radical's notions of our American liberty, — notions having about the same clearness, except in the best informed, as an oyster's dreams of lark-catching, — had her ear abused by statements, some of which it is likely that her prejudices too eagerly welcomed, and others were apparently designed for experiments on that credulity of hers, to which we just now referred. One of these experiments, recorded in connexion with a historico-philosophical explanation of the degrees of republican tone in different States, strikes us as having been particularly bold.

"Within the memory of middle-aged men, the governor of New Hampshire used to travel in a coach and six, while the governor of the much more important Massachusetts went on a horse, with his wife on a pillion."—Vol. 1. p. 33.

The connexion indicates, that the anecdote here vouched for Miss Martineau by some "middle-aged man," is to be understood of ante-revolutionary times; and she received and reports it, forgetting that New Hampshire and Massachusetts having passed into independent commonwealths sixty years ago, it is not in the course of nature for any middle-aged man to have seen the state, — grander or more sordid, — of their respective provincial governors. If she will take the other side of the dilemma, though we do not see how this can be, considering the place where the remark occurs, the case is made little better. That middle-aged man, — with sorrow we say it, — was no other than a smooth-faced wag, who whispered to Miss Martineau, that within his memory a republican governor of New Hampshire had made his circuit with a turnout of six in hand, while the august representatives of the sovereignty of the old Bay State sat bolt upright before Mrs. Hancock, Mrs. Adams, and Mrs. Bowdoin, when they took the air upon a pillion.

The truth is, that peculiarities which we have mentioned exposed Miss Martineau to erroneous information. We know a young person, — it is little to his credit, — who exercised himself largely in this way. It was not the same, who told Captain Hall, that it was our habit to accommodate the companies of strolling players with the use of our churches; but it was one of a like wanton wit. The thing was altogether wrong; but the pertinacious confidence with which other things were repeated in his hearing, which he knew to be equally unfounded with what he was inventing, offered a temptation strong enough to overcome his usual good sense. Miss Martineau was too frequently a mark, we fear, for molestation of this sort. Of course it was without any perception of it on her part; that was prevented by the very foible which was practised on. Yet the *naïveté*, with which she sometimes becomes herself the narrator of such doings, cannot but strike one with surprise. Who, for instance, would have believed, on any third person's word, that, with her perspicacity, she could have failed to put the right construction on such an incident as this which follows? She relates it as an instance of "the solemn pedantry

of which the extremest examples are to be found" in the United States, and, with a perfect unconsciousness that her *collocutor*, more merry than well-mannered, was entertaining the by-standers with a caricature, — which was scarcely a caricature, — of her own too frequent style of remark. We ought to say that we know nothing of the circumstances, except from her own record, which stands in these circumstantial and graphic terms ;

"I was solemnly assured by a gentleman, that I was quite wrong on some point, because I differed from him. *Everybody laughed*: when he went on, with the utmost gravity, to inform us that there had been a time when he believed, like other people, that he might be mistaken ; but that experience had convinced him that he never was ; and he had in consequence cast behind him the fear of error. I told him I was afraid the place he lived in must be terribly dull, — having an oracle in it to settle every thing. He replied, that the worst of it was, other people were not so convinced of his being always in the right as he was himself. There was no joke here. He is a literal and serious-minded man." — Vol. II. p. 207.

But we have suffered ourselves to be lured from the scent. Let us go back to our Politics. And since here we must select, and wish to do it fairly, let us see with what degree of clearness and consistency Miss Martineau handles what we presume she would call the great principle of her book. "The majority are right," she says ; "the majority are in the right ;" and so on, with very frequent repetition ; only that when the majority, not doing as she would have them, do what she thinks is wrong, another doctrine of similar sound, but rather different sense, comes to her aid ; "the majority *will be* in the right."

Of the meaning of this principle, as a sound part of the republican theory, — shrilly clamorous as she is for it, — Miss Martineau seems to have no perception. We will try to help her, through the medium of her own more accustomed language. Her country is a monarchy ; that is, (for "monarchy" as well as "aristocracy" is Greek, and since she flings about the latter word, in respect to our American relations, in a way to show that she has no acquaintance with its sense, it is possible that she may guess as vaguely about the former,) the sovereign power is lodged in one person. Did she ever hear it said, in England, that "the king can do no

wrong" ? Probably she has heard it said ; for it is a principle of the English constitution. And what did she understand those words to mean ? If she took them in their whole possible latitude of sense, — if she took them otherwise than as a fiction of theory, supplying however a rule for practical observance, — she had better go encamp under the wing of the Khan of Tartary, for his government has no principles, and therefore none so horribly absurd. We suppose, that she understood them to mean, that he can do no punishable wrong ; and that whatever he shall do, in the exercise of his kingly function, and through the constitutional channel of action, will be right in the contemplation of the English law, in the discretion of the inferior English officer, and in the obligation of every Englishman. It will be the rule of the kingdom's and of the subject's action, which the subject kingdom and individual must not dispute. Such a rule will it be, until the king shall incline, or be persuaded, to a different course ; and then that other course will be equally, that is positively and indisputably right, in the view of the law, though it should be diametrically opposite to what was right just now. So in pure republics. "The majority is right." "The majority can do no wrong." Its will, expressed through that constitutional mechanism which gives it the only voice the citizen can hear, is absolute law. It is, for the time being, indisputable right ; nor even if they who have composed a majority should afterwards be outnumbered, may they be punished for what they did in the use of a majority's prerogative. They exercised a legitimate discretion, and a discretion which they had a right to make felt by others ; and even though, in the view of higher intelligences, they should, at any time, have been sadly stupid or treacherous in its exercise, there is no earthly power to call them to account.

If this had been all which Miss Martineau meant to say, she would have been, so far, a very sound republican of the school of Washington and Hamilton, Madison and Jay. But had this been all which she meant, or fancied she meant, — for all this strain of thought is mutable and vapory as a cloud, — she would neither have proclaimed what is our alphabet of the political theory, with such noisy repetition, nor made applications of it to such numerous results of minor and questionable speculation. If we read her rightly, she is much of the time possessed with the idea, that the preference of the larger number in a community of persons determines

the fact of the abstract right ; that is to say, if a million of men, less one, be divided into two parts, as nearly equal as possible, the larger of the two will infallibly select the more wise and righteous measure ; the preponderating unit can never, by any possibility, be found in the wrong scale.

We believe, on the whole, that we will not try to argue that question, inasmuch as the logicians say, that to support an argument, there must be some common ground, and between a champion of this theory, and any one who should be scrupulous about a character for common sense, we do not at once perceive where the common ground is to be looked for. In this country, where people, when they announce their political maxims, are apt to consider what those maxims mean, we suppose it to be the prevailing opinion, and therefore (Miss Martineau being the judge) the right one, that no human administration can be depended on to do "always that which is right." Abraham thought, of old, that this moral infallibility was the distinguishing attribute of a higher government ; and the same, as far as we are informed, is the general sense of the American people. They are of opinion, further, unless we err, that as often as a new truth comes to be perceived, so far from being simultaneously snatched at by just enough voters to give it at once practical efficacy, — ballot in hand, — it is, in the common course of things, first in the possession of one or a few, then of more, and by and by, through their exertions, of a sufficient number to invest it with legal authority ; and that if circumstances cause it to be politically dealt with, before this last-named consummation arrives, the temporary decision will perforce be abstractly wrong. If meanwhile any principle could be adopted, by which the rightly-thinking minority could be recognised as such, and accordingly placed in power, the consequence would be the speedier adoption of the better view ; and this is the attempt which all governments, except pure democracies, have perpetually made. We republicans think that they have always made it in vain ; and that the experiment has been so long unsuccessfully tried, and at such cost, that now it ought to be abandoned. Recognizing the natural equality of men in the abstract right of having their judgments become operative, as in other rights, we cannot find, as others have thought they did, that political history furnishes any good reason for invading it. Actually, of two men, one will have more wisdom and rectitude than another,



and accordingly is a more trust-worthy depositary of power. Of ten men, the five wisest and best have not the same sense and honesty as the residue, but more ; that might seem a safe proposition. Of five men it may well be, that the two who differ from the others may think more correctly. Let them convince the others, then, if they can. But if they cannot, — if both parties insist that they are right, — what umpire is there to decide which is so ? There is none, we of this country think, who can be trusted to do it. One private man's judgment is as good, and must be esteemed so, for all practical purposes of government, as another private man's ; and, of course, by plain principles of figures, the judgment of the greater number must be regarded more than the judgment of the less.

We will not, however, do Miss Martineau's understanding the injustice of attributing to her the deliberate opinion, that on each and every occasion the greater number will do precisely what they ought, though she has repeatedly done herself the injustice to use the quoted words without limitation, and in connexions, where, if they mean any thing, it would seem that they can mean no less. In other parts of her work, she not only shrinks from the principle, as expressed in general terms, but either categorically, or by direct implication, goes to a length of contradiction, in respect to particular applications of it, which strikes us as decidedly harsh. We have this at one time in the form of a sort of counter-maxim.

"No student of the ways of Providence will \* \* \* expect, that any arrangement of society can be made, by which the convictions and sympathies of the less gifted should be enabled suddenly to overtake those of the more gifted." — Vol. II. p. 151.

Again, it comes in the shape of a remark, which, occurring in a different connexion, and relating in form to a special case, does not appear to have occurred to our author's mind as virtually a strenuous denial of what she had been at such pains to impress. This majority, whose every action is pure, unquestionable right, strict, veritable conformity to the truth and equity of things, obtains and welcomes the information, upon which it so securely and happily proceeds, in the following manner and spirit.

"Of all newspaper presses, I never heard any one deny that the American is the worst. Of course this depravity being so general throughout the country, it must be occasioned by some overpowering force of circumstances." — Vol. I. p. 109.

"While the population is so scattered as it now is, throughout the greater part of the Union, nothing is easier than to make the people know only one side of a question; few things are easier than to keep from them altogether the knowledge of any particular affair; and, worse than all, on them may easily be practised the discovery that lies may work their intended effect, before the truth can overtake them.

"It is hard to tell which is worst; the wide diffusion of things that are not true, or the suppression of things that are true. It is no secret, that some able personage at Washington writes letters on the politics and politicians of the general government, and sends them to the remotest corners of the Union, to appear in their newspapers; after which, they are collected in the administration newspaper at Washington, as testimonies of public opinion in the respective districts where they appear. It is no secret, that the newspapers of the south keep out of their columns all information which might enlighten their readers, near and afar, as to the real state of society at home."

"It is no secret, that the systematic abuse with which the newspapers of one side assail every candidate coming forward on the other, is the cause of many honorable men, who have a regard to their reputation, being deterred from entering public life; and of the people being thus deprived of some better servants than any they have."

"The worst of it is, that the few exceptions to this depravity, — the few newspapers conducted by men of truth and superior intelligence, are not yet encouraged in proportion to their merits. It is easy to see how a youth, going into the wilds, to set up a newspaper for the neighbouring villages, should meet with support, however vicious or crude his production may be; but it is discouraging to perceive how little preference is given, in the Atlantic cities, to the best journals over the worst."—Vol. I. pp. 109, 110, 111.

Nor is there any hope for the newspapers in any supervision or example of the higher literature of the country, nor in a reforming public sentiment.

"There will be no great improvement in the literary character of the American newspapers till the literature of the country has improved. Their moral character depends upon the moral taste of the people. The demand lies with the many. Whenever the many demand truth and justice in their journals, and reject falsehood and calumny, they will be served according to their desire."—Vol. I. p. 111.

Of course, "the many" have not demanded "truth and justice" yet. So much for Miss Martineau's complimentary

estimation of them. But the unkindest cut of all is behind. Montesquieu, the subject of a royal government, thought that the judicious choice of rulers was a kind of public action in which republicans might be allowed to excel. He gave them little credit for capacity to decide upon measures, but held them to be altogether competent to the selection of men.\* Miss Martineau thinks less well of us.

"The great theory presumes, that the majority not only will the best measures, but choose the best men. This is far from being true in practice. In no respect, perhaps, are the people more behind their theory than in this."

"It has become the established method of seeking office, not only to declare a coincidence of opinion with the supposed majority, on the great topics on which the candidate will have to speak and act while in office, but to deny, or conceal, or assert anything else which it is supposed will please the same majority. The consequence is, that the best men are not in office. The morally inferior who succeed, use their power for selfish purposes, to a sufficient extent to corrupt their constituents, in their turn. I scarcely knew, at first, how to understand the political conversations which I heard in travelling. If a citizen told another that A. had voted in a particular manner, the other invariably began to account for the vote. A. had voted thus to please B., because B.'s influence was wanted for the benefit of C., who had promised so and so to A.'s brother, or son, or nephew, or leading section of constituents. A reason for a vote, or other public proceeding, must always be found; and any reason seemed to be taken up rather than the obvious one, that a man votes according to the decision of his reason and conscience. I often mentioned this to men in office, or seeking to be so; and they received it with a smile or a laugh which wrung my heart. Of all heart-withering things, political skepticism in a republic is one of the most painful."

"The most learned men, generally speaking, devote themselves, in preference, to professions. The most conscientious men, generally speaking, shun the snares which fatally beset public life, at present, in the United States."

"There seems to be no expectation whatever that a candidate for the presidency, or his partisans, should retain any simplicity of speech, or regard to equity, in the distribution of places and promises." — Vol. 1. pp. 24, 25, 84 – 86.

*Et tu, Brute!*

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\* "Spirit of Laws." Book 2, Chap. 2.

But again, "the majority *will be* in the right." That is the resource, in exigencies which the other form of the maxim does not so well suit. They "will be in the right"; — "man never is, but always to be blessed." To be sure they will ; but when, and in what matters, and with what conditions ? The sentiment, properly regarded, is a sound one. It is the same which is sometimes expressed in less sycophantic, or if Miss Martineau pleases, more aristocratic forms. Will she have it in Latin ? Long ago it was said, and is now sometimes repeated ; "Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat." Will she have it in English ? Then it reads ; "The truth is great and will prevail." Give time, and secure attention, and open a fair field, and the truth on any given point will make its way, till it converts the greater number. For the mind of man has an affinity with truth, which is always tending to bring them together ; and providence has fastened the truth and its opposite to long and heavy trains of happy and disastrous consequences, by which their respective characters come at last to be known. There are, meanwhile, many things which ought to be settled rightly, but which the greater number of men, having affairs of their own to attend to, do not care about, and will not trouble themselves to obtain the information requisite for so deciding. Such are most private controversies ; upon them the majority, if brought to act at all, would for the most part act too ignorantly to act with a sound discretion. There are other practical questions, in which it does take a strong interest, but which it is not therefore sure of settling in the right manner, inasmuch as, if it should proceed to act upon them, it might act under a present impulse of strong passion, preventing a discernment of what the right is, and even forbidding a solicitude to ascertain it. Then occurs that phasis of the majority's action which contemporaries sometimes call the majesty of the people, while the sterner voice of history entitles it the people's brutal madness. The French history about 1794 will furnish Miss Martineau with some incidents to explain what we mean ; or we may refer her to a shocking occurrence, which she mentions, in the State of Missouri, in respect to which the ground of the majority's will being the highest law was actually taken by a magistrate, before whom the question came, in a breadth, and with a decision, which it would seem Miss Martineau ought to be greatly pleased with. "The majority will be in the right," doubtless, upon all such

things, but the better opinion appears to be, that it is not right when such things are done ; and, to prevent their being done, it has been thought best to institute courts of justice, to anticipate, for present action, that right sentence of the majority, which, for present purposes, it is not enough to be persuaded that some future time may bring.

Is it Miss Martineau's opinion that all such arrangements in society are merely so much useless trouble ? Does she think society should do nothing, when a question arises, but ring the bell and call the voters to town-meeting ? So it seems, if she thinks at all, when she writes, "The majority are right ; *any fears* of the majority are inconsistent with this maxim." 'This is her language. Yet we venture to doubt whether, if it were not for disloyalty to her principles, our author herself, rather than trust her cause to this arbitration, would not choose to carry it into a court of justice, where it might be passed upon by persons bound to attend to its merits, trained and habituated to such investigations, selected for their competency, and occupying a position to be secure against the influences of fear or favor. And though we have taken the simplest case, in order to expose the folly of the principle when viewed in the aspects in which it appears to have bewildered her mind, the same is true of all arrangements made by a society for the security and well-being of its citizens. Granted, that the majority of men will sometime or other arrive at the knowledge of whatever truth is within the reach of man ; they have not arrived at it yet, and till they have, it will not do to call them infallible. Granted, that howsoever intricate a question of law, whether relating to principle or administration, may be, the majority of a nation will settle it rightly, when they have had their attention turned to it, and have considered it long enough ; still the people of America remember, that the majority has a great deal to think of, and is not likely to trouble itself much about every individual's small affairs ; that many questions both of rule and of application, are of such a nature as to demand much previous inquiry in order to their right solution ; and many demand to be settled without delay for practical use, inasmuch as the days of the individual's years are only three score years and ten. Accordingly, they have thought it wise to commit such questions to the care of chosen men in legislative and judicial trusts, believing that the decisions of such men, pre-

sumed to be selected for their integrity and competency, will be the same decisions which the majority themselves would eventually arrive at, if they would give themselves to such investigations ; — that, in short, that judgment of the majority, which Miss Martineau says *will be* right, will be anticipated by the majority's representatives, and announced in time to be of use. And as even this is but an approximation, — though the best, in our American thought, which has been devised, — to a perfect administration of government and justice, we believe the American people are content to have any one think, that upon any given point, the majority are as yet in the wrong, though, sooner or later, in some age of the world's life, they will be in the right, upon any matter which remains upon their minds ; from which further it seems to follow, that even fear of the majority's action, in some given case, is not (as far as fear can be justified at all) so very unreasonable a feeling.

The confusion of our author's mind on this subject of the affinity between the majority's will and the right, is absolutely unfathomable. Her hobby limps round its mill till the whirl completely dizzies her. "Nothing," she says,

"Nothing can be more striking to a stranger than the experience gained, after some residence in the United States, of the ultimate ascendancy of the will of the majority, — *i. e.* of the right, — in defiance of all appearances to the contrary." — Vol. I. p. 44.

How can this experience "of the ultimate ascendancy of the will of the majority" be so very "striking" to a stranger, when he knows beforehand, if he knows any thing of the characteristic institutions of this country, that they provide for the will of the majority going into effect with small delay ? What "appearances to the contrary" of that result can there be ? "The right," if Miss Martineau chooses so far to contradict herself, may be, for the time being, maintained by a minority ; and as long as it is so, it would indeed be "striking" to see the right obtain ascendancy, inasmuch as the thing is impossible. But as soon as it becomes that "will of the majority," with which she expressly identifies it, in the same sentence, the wonder would be that it should not obtain ascendancy, inasmuch as it could not fail to do so.

Again ;

"There is a spreading dislike of Associations for moral, while there is a growing attachment to them for mechanical, objects.

The majority will show to those who may be living at the time what is the right." — Vol. II. p. 299.

"Those who may be living" at what time? There is a majority in respect to the question, favorable or unfavorable, now. There will be a majority, entertaining the same or a different view respecting it, ten years hence, fifty years, a hundred. What generation is it, "living at *the* time," to which the majority will show what is the right? — It is recorded of a barrister, that he opened his argument by begging the Judge to observe, that "if ever there was a case which beyond all other cases brought to view the principles to be applied in such a case, this case is that case." "Which case, brother A?" was all that his Lordship, in his helplessness, could reply.

And, worst of all, a view to "*the* time," may demand to be retrospective rather than prophetic; for

"Many excellent leaders of the democratic party think the people at large less fit to govern themselves wisely, than they were five-and-twenty years ago." — Vol. I. p. 319.

We have been as impatient as our readers can be to get out of this speculative slough. We would have trusted to Miss Martineau to contradict herself, — we could not trust the work to better hands, — were it not that the boldness of the one side of her theory is naturally more *salient* than the caution of the other. But we cannot pass on to the few words, which we have to say upon other matters, without a remark or two upon the freedom, with which, professing to be a friend to free institutions, she has held up the operation of them among us to the view of their enemies in her own country, and wherever her book may find readers. If the representations which she has ventured to make had come from some different quarters, we should have felt no surprise, whatever sorrow and indignation they might have excited. As things are, the best we have to hope is, that the incoherence between the theory with which she declares herself so possessed, and her statements respecting us of this nation, who have gone furthest in applying it to practice, will create a wholesome distrust on the part of her foreign readers respecting her capacity for making observations.

All institutions of civil government, being human, are subject to some dangers. We do not expect our republican institutions to be free from them. Of dangers affecting us, we suppose that all wise men see two to be chief; viz. the dan-

ger, that law, which embodies the deliberate popular will, will not, on all occasions, be strong enough to overawe or control sudden outbreaks of popular feeling, of a criminal and mischievous character ; and the danger that, where every man is every other's equal, and accordingly has something to hope and fear from the favor and displeasure of every other, there will be a universal mutual restraint on freedom of opinion, speech, and action, which will do more subtilly, but if not counteracted, may in some respects do more effectually, the enslaving work, which republicans are apt to charge upon apparently severer forms of government. Of course, this is the ground which skilful assailants of our institutions would choose to take. It is precisely the ground, which again and again they have taken. But no writer, that we know of, has gone any thing like the length of Miss Martineau, in declaring these tendencies to be actually manifested among us in destructive operation. They occupy the foreground of her picture.

The dangers are real. No patriotic American can shut his eyes against them. As to the latter, the extent to which the influence operates upon individual minds is an endlessly complicated question, which no one, — certainly no stranger, — is competent to solve ; and wholesale charges may be as foolish and false, as they are confident and violent. The protection to be looked for is in a clear sense of the danger, and, in great part, in other influences upon society and the citizen, which republican institutions are calculated to exert. The former danger, whenever it takes effect, speaks for itself for the present, and may well inspire the most painful apprehensions for the future. We have no words of qualified abhorrence, with which to speak of riots, — of illegal combinations of any kind, — whether more or less wickedness be perpetrated by them for the time being. We can only wonder at, and bewail the infatuation of such, as can countenance them on any occasion, for any pretence, to any end. Those of which this country has been the scene, are undoubtedly, by eminence, the portion of its history to call up distressing and humbling recollections. We mourn over them in the bitterness of our spirit. But we do not therefore despair of the republic. We know that, in the course of any people's history, times of strong excitement are likely to occur ; and when they do occur, we know of only two perfect securities against the vio-



lence of mobs. The one is, strong principle in the people ; the other is, cold iron over them. The Emperor Nicholas has an effectual way of dealing with such movements ; so effectual, that his subjects never put him to the trial. But though it has the advantage over ours in point of certain efficacy, we would rather trust to our own than take his, along with its disagreeable concomitants.

True it is, that ours has not always worked as well as could be wished. The more is the pity. We must try to make it work better for the future. We must make it work better, not so much for our credit's sake, as for the sake of our safety, of our continued being, as a free community. And we expect to do so. The existence, and the peace, and the fame of England have survived Lord George Gordon's mob ; and we shall yet, if we be but staunch for the future, have a strong and an honored place upon the nations, for all that has come and gone. But the present wonder is, that a professed champion of free institutions should have dealt in such an off-hand and such a one-sided way with the topics we have named. She has not been insensible, indeed, of the awkwardness of her position, and meets the difficulty by pleading, in her section entitled "*Allegiance to Law*," that mobs in America are composed of "*gentry*," or "*the aristocracy*." But of course, this is only that figure of speech, which is sometimes called throwing dust in the eyes. She knows well enough, that to apply such expressions to any class of our citizens is merely to use a license of rhetoric ; and that if she can make it out to the satisfaction of English readers, that law has no power here to restrain outrage, they will feel little curiosity to learn whether the generality of our rioters wear green baize roundabouts, or fasten their broadcloth with gilt buttons.

The majority is always right ; but nevertheless, in republican America riot and outrage are the order of the day. Self-governed America is a fine free country, but it is a country where every man is the miserable slave of every other ; where, "*to think what you will, and speak what you think*," is a misdemeanor on which the unmitigated weight of popular displeasure falls. So much for Miss Martineau's amiable zeal for our institutions. There is only one thing more, for which the friends of Church and King would care to thank her, and this they must wait for, till they get towards the close of her book ; but the connexion of the subject is such, that we will rather

advert to it now. The advocates of the English ecclesiastical establishment urge no other argument with so much confidence in favor of the rich livings of a portion of the clergy, and the independence of all on popular election, as the necessity of their being in this situation in order to an honest discharge of their functions. The clergyman, say they, who depends upon the public favor, will be sure to lower his standard of doctrine and duty to meet the demands of the popular will. If he is to "rebuke with authority," he must rebuke from an independent position; and to this end, there must even be those of this body, who shall be on a level with the highest subject. To the friends of this theory, Miss Martineau's assurance, that "the American clergy are the most backward and timid class in the society in which they live, the least informed with true knowledge, the least efficient in virtuous action," cannot fail to afford the most lively pleasure.

It is not worth while for us to stop, to appeal to any who are competent to form a judgment, whether it can be reasonably pretended that ever, since Christianity came forth from the primitive purity of her persecuted days, she has commanded the services of a more self-denying, indefatigable, and faithful body of clergy, than the existing clergy of all denominations in America. It would be a presuming folly in us, to affect to be their champions against such a charge from such a source. But what, in the name of all that is credible, does their deluded traducer mean, we do not say by such sorry extravagances, but by extravagances of fact, so at war with her own extravagances of theory, as here, and elsewhere that we have pointed out, she is thrusting on the credulity of her readers at home, as if in vengeance for the hardships which her own credulity suffered while abroad? Has she no aim? How could she undertake to write; and then, too, how can such representations be accounted for? Has she an aim? What is it? Is she, in American phrase, on the fence? Is she coquetting between Orangeism and Reform? Has she that conceit of her powers, that she means to try her hand at mystifying ministers, those who are, and those who may be? She was used to call the fair Majesty of England her "pupil," on the ground, we believe, of some of her little books being supposed to have been put into the princess's hands. Has she conceived the lofty hope of standing in some nearer relation to that illustrious personage? Has she lifted her aspiring eye to one of the places

now held by the "gorgeous dames" of the houses of Petty and Leveson-Gower; and would she plant on our remote soil, the foot of her "young ambition's ladder?" Should the prospects of my Lord Durham continue to brighten, does she mean to have her strong-hold in the common places of radicalism, which she has scattered broad-cast over her pages? Should his grace of Wellington see better days, is she intending to call his attention to what she has so vigorously written of the predominance of mob law, and the universal slavery of the mind, in republican America? When she thinks of the fair prospects of the Agitator, does she propose to hang on his skirts by force of her remarks on "the danger of a careless, ambitious, worldly clergy, in the richer priests of the church" of England? If the star of Derby should come into the ascendent, is what she has said of the depravity of the American clergy, under the Voluntary Principle, the tide which is to "lead on to fortune"? Let who can propound. We assume not to interpret the ambiguous words which she has dispensed with such large alternate liberality.

We must pass lightly over other discussions of Miss Martineau, touching our politics, which cannot fail to be well received in the quarters which in theory she does not propose to serve. Our "apathy in citizenship," particularly as exhibited in being "afraid to vote," she represents as extreme. Our sectional prejudices she understands to be of the most malignantly aggravated character, such as she rightly, though somewhat daintily, declares, "cannot coexist with a generous patriotism." We have had opportunity to make some observations on most of the six-and-twenty states, and in no one of them (though we have certainly listened to ill-natured remarks) did we ever happen to hear language of exactly the strength, which it seems was addressed to her. We but set down her representation for what it may be worth, having expressly declined the office of contradicting any of those views of hers, in this connexion, which she has happened to leave uncontradicted under her own hand.

" 'Hatred' is not too strong a term for this sectional prejudice. Many a time in America have I been conscious of that pang and shudder which are felt only in the presence of hatred. I question whether the enmity between the British and the Americans, at the most exasperating crisis of the war, could ever have been more intense than some that I have seen flashing in the eyes,

and heard from the lips, of Americans against fellow-citizens in distant sections of their country. I have scarcely known whether to laugh or to mourn when I have been told, that the New England people are all pedlars or canting priests; that the people of the south are all heathens; and those of the west all barbarians. Nay, I was even told in New York, that the Rhode Island people were all heathens, and the New Jersey folks were no better." — Vol. I. pp. 137, 138.

On the other hand, our institutions are in fault, because of what she entitles, the "political non-existence of women," and because (except in Rapp's settlement, and those of the Shakers, neither of which, however, for other reasons, meets her idea of a perfect commonwealth,) property is here held in severalty. On the former point she is very strenuous, devoting a stirringly polemic chapter to the defence of what she entitles "the principle of the equal right of both halves of the human race," as "the true democratic principle which can never be seriously controverted, and only for a short time evaded."\* Upon the fallacy of a supposed acquiescence of the sex in existing political arrangements she is particularly explicit.

"This acquiescence is only partial; and, to give any semblance of strength to the plea, the acquiescence must be complete. *I, for one, do not acquiesce.* I declare that whatever obedience I yield to the laws of the society in which I live is a matter between, not the community and myself, but my judgment and my will. Any punishment inflicted on me for the breach of the laws, I should regard as so much gratuitous injury; for to those laws I have never, actually or virtually, assented. I know that there are women in England who agree with me in this. I know that there are women in America who agree with me in this. The plea of acquiescence is invalidated by us." — Vol. II. p. 152.

What her views are about community, or, as we presume it should rather be called, abolition, of property, is not made altogether clear. "There is," however, "no way of securing perfect social liberty on democratic principles, but by community of property;" and the Shakers are, in this matter, to be regarded as the pioneers of society.

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\* In connexion with this subject, Miss Martineau (Vol. II. p. 229) warmly resents a supposed want of respect on our part, on a former occasion, when nothing was further from our minds. We really supposed ourselves to be using the most harmless and civil pleasantry in the world.

"If there had been no celibacy among them, they would probably have been far more wealthy than they are; the expenses of living in community being so much less, and the produce of co-operative labor being so much greater than in a state of division into families. The truth of these last positions can be denied by none who have witnessed the working of a coöperative system. The problem is to find the principle by which all shall be induced to labor their share. Any such principle being found, the wealth of the community follows of course.

"Whether any principle to this effect can be brought to bear upon any large class of society in the old world, is at present the most important dispute, perhaps, that is agitating society. It will never now rest till it has been made matter of experiment." — Vol. I. p. 312.

We congratulate ourselves, at least, that the experiment is to be tried in the "old world," instead of this. We are content here, for the most part, with living in the good old Christian way of "a state of division into families," with our own wives, children, and household stuff. The economist who should have not only asserted, but proved, that "the expenses of living in community" are "much less, and the produce of coöperative labor much greater," would hardly have satisfied us that it was best to give up the advantages of domestic association, and be turned into one great work-house. We should be pained to hear that Miss Martineau's recommendation had even prevailed to a trial of the experiment in the other continent.

It would be unreasonable to expect that Miss Martineau's gifts at theorizing, as exhibited in the production of such fruits as these, will secure the confidence of intelligent minds to her partial recommendation of some of our institutions, as agreeing with her notions of what a frame of society ought to be. And should they turn, unwarned, from these to her statement of facts, a precious chance for continuing united or free, will they find reason to conclude that we of this nation have. With a country composed of sections inveterately hostile to one another, — mobs habitually overbearing law, — newspapers and political aspirants universally corrupting opinion among a people eager to be corrupted, (for, — a point to which we did not advert in its place, — the people may have "honest orators" as well as newspapers, "*if they choose* to demand to hear the truth,") — a clergy poisoning by their easy doctrine, and their sycophantic example, the sources of all sound principle, — every citizen standing in fear of every other, and especially

the better apprehensive of the worse, — it will be pretty safe to say, that our days are not only numbered, but that it will cost small waste of figures to count them. Our comfort is in the hope, that such persons will consider a little the evidence which they have already had of a mind incapable of making satisfactory observations of any kind ; and if they will be patient, we will give them a little more. We will take a few instances from the last part of the book, where it seems to us, that, perhaps through the haste of coming to the conclusion, there is rather greater carelessness than elsewhere.

Religion, according to Miss Martineau, is in a low condition in America, consisting mainly in hatred to Catholics, to Infidels, and to Christians professing some different belief from the hater. But what was she looking for, which not being able to find in proper measure, she laments the absence of religion ? Her standard of judgment being the wise one which follows, one perceives what degree of reliance is to be placed on the skill of her inquiry, and the justness of her conclusion.

“ Religion is, in its widest sense, the tendency of human nature to the infinite ; and its principle is manifested in the pursuit of perfection in any direction whatever. It is in this widest sense that some speculative atheists have been religious men.” — Vol. II. p. 314.

“ Perfection in any direction whatever.” What ! in ship-building, tobacco-planting, kite-flying ? “ Atheists have been religious men.” Let our author be again advised to look to her Greek. Atheism signifies the being *without a God*. But the object of religion is a God or gods. A person denying a God may be a just man, if you will ; a temperate, a generous, an humble man ; but we diffidently submit that he would make an odd sort of religionist. Such uses of language are merely a subject for Sir Hugh Evans’ reproof, as applied in that same scene of the “ *Merry Wives of Windsor*,” from which Miss Martineau gives a quotation in her Appendix. She will find it couched in the following concise and unequivocal terms ; “ Leave your prabbles, ’oman.”

What is written above, it seems we are to take for an account of the principle of religion. For its practice the following is the recipe ;

“ The morality and religion of the people of the United States have suffered much by their being, especially in New England, an ostensibly religious community. \* \* \* *All they have to*

*do* is, to assert their birth-right of liberty ; to be free and natural. They need have no fear of license and irreligion." — Vol. II. p. 347.

And this substantially, we are told, and more like it, she got some one else to agree to. In a conversation with "a most liberal-minded clergyman, a man as democratic in his religion, and as genial in his charity, as any layman in the land," he spoke of the existence of "strong religious sensibility in the children of the Pilgrims," and asked Miss Martineau what she "thought should be done to cherish and enlarge it." Among other measures to this end, respecting which they found themselves *d'accord*, were the following ;

"We proposed, that new temptations to walking, driving, boating, &c. should be prepared, and the delights of natural scenery laid open much more freely than they are : that social amusements of every kind should be encouraged, and all religious restraints upon speech and action removed : in short, that spontaneity should be revered and approved above all things, whatever form it may take." — Vol. II. p. 345.

We have not the remotest suspicion whom Miss Martineau means by this clerical Solomon. We ourselves never happened to fall into company, where the removal of "all religious restraints upon speech and action," and the approval above all things of what Miss Martineau pleasantly calls "spontaneity," "whatever form it may take," was recommended as a specific for the culture of the religious character. — Shall we tell our poor thought upon this matter ? It serves us on other occasions, which occur in these volumes. It is, that this liberal-minded clergyman was less of a Solomon than a Job. Does Miss Martineau remember a spirited design of Westall, prefixed to the poem entitled "Conversation," in Sharpe's edition of Cowper ? Nobody can better vouch than herself for the truth of the attitude, in which the poet sits in that print, so frequently must it have been exhibited to her during her visit to this country. It illustrates the following lines ;

"I twirl my thumbs ; fall back into my chair ;  
Fix on the wainscot a distressful stare ;  
And when I hope his blunders are all out,  
Reply discreetly, 'to be sure,' — 'no doubt.'"

The second Part of Miss Martineau's work, entitled "Econ-

omy," is prefaced by a series of sketches of scenery and life in different parts of the country, which make decidedly the most agreeable portion of her book. They are indeed written with great spirit and liveliness, showing very favorably what she can do, when she is content to let alone the philosopher and statesman, (or stateswoman, if she will have us learn to say so,) and be her graceful and quick-witted self. Other sketches, of the same nature with those which are here brought together, occur in different parts of the work. They look like leaves of a journal kept at the time; and though sometimes introduced a little *apropos des bottes*, never fail to be welcome, as well for their own beauty, as for the inferior attractiveness of the different sort of matter which they displace or relieve.

In the third Part, entitled "Civilization," one naturally expects to find the strength of the book. Here is a theme, on which it is reasonable to promise one's self that a cultivated woman will be entertaining and instructive. There is on the whole, a smooth surface, skin-deep, over this portion of the work, but altogether too free a circulation of discoloring bile beneath it. The topics here separately treated are, the "Idea of Honor," under which are arranged "Caste," "Property," and "Intercourse"; "Woman," to which division belong "Marriage," "Occupation," and "Health"; "Children"; "Sufferers"; and "Utterance."

Since "the degree of civilization of any people corresponds with the exaltation of the idea which is most prevalent among that people," and since "the worship of opinion is, at this day, the established religion of the United States," and "certainly takes precedence of that of wealth," Miss Martineau inclines to prefer the civilization of the new world to that of the old. Bad enough, however, it must be owned, is then the best; and a page or two further on, as usual, she takes occasion to gratify gainsayers of this view with its opposite, allowing that "where the honor is to be derived from present human opinion," — which was the very case in hand, — "there must be fear, ever present, and perpetually exciting to, or withholding from, action; in such a case, as painful a bondage is incurred as in the pursuit of wealth." — Under the head of "Caste," she is particularly severe upon the metropolis of New England, and especially upon its "aristocracy"; an ungente expression, which in this connexion commonly



denotes those, who have not treated one with sufficient attention, and whom, therefore, one is desirous to affront. Wishing her as well as we do, we regret that she should ever have been afflicted by feelings of the painful nature which dictated the remarks in question. Such remarks are always better let alone, particularly when so many will be likely to think that they are in possession of a commentary on the tone that has been taken. If, while, in single cases, our author received, in that city, attentions by which any traveller might feel gratified and honored, her acquaintance was not as extensively sought as she may have allowed herself to expect; if there were those, who, having figured her to themselves as an *esprit fort*, to say the least, or thinking they had had enough already of English jobbers in the book-wright line, did not care to go out of their way to seek her; if there were any who, rightly or wrongly, were displeased at what they thought the bad taste of a stranger's public interference in matters of delicate and agitating controversy; if there were any, who chose, even under embarrassing circumstances, to exercise that freedom of judgment in which, it seems, Americans are so deficient, and decide for themselves on questions belonging to the obligations of hospitality, this should not have been the opening of a score to be settled by hard words; though doubtless the rebukes, now that they are uttered, have inflicted a grievous wound, as did of old those objurgations of our fair fellow-citizen, whom the French ambassador assured, that it would occasion the Emperor, his master, infinite distress to learn what a poor opinion she entertained of him. — "Property" is a nuisance, which Miss Martineau hopes bids fair to be ultimately abated in this country. In England, it is following the same course "as monarchy, which was once necessary, and is now useless, if not pernicious." "In America the process will be more rapid." We are getting "ready for the inquiry whether this tremendous incubus be indeed irremovable." — As to "Intercourse," "the manners of the Americans (in America) are the best" she "ever saw"; which is not improbable, though there are also good manners to be seen elsewhere, if one looks in the right places. We are further "the most good-tempered people in the world," which, all things considered, is no more than we need to be. What she found chiefly to object to, was the flattery which everywhere pursued and distressed her, and against which, now that she is

out of hearing of it, she remonstrates with the strongest aversion. "The most common mode of conversation in America" exhibits a combination, which we should have guessed beforehand was rare in any place; it is "prosy, but withal rich and droll." "In the capitals of States, men rank according to their professed intellect;" "it is refreshing in the cities to see how the veriest fops and the most solid capitalists readily succumb before men and women who are distinguished for nothing but their minds";—a state of things which, on the one hand, is not so very bad, and on the other, not so very easy to reconcile with the facts, that "it is in the commercial cities that the aristocracy form and collect"; that "wherever the appearance of a conventional aristocracy exists in America, it must arise from wealth"; and that "an aristocracy of mere wealth is vulgar everywhere."

As to "Women" in America, "their beauty is very remarkable, and their wit, no less." "They have, within the range of their activity, good sense, good temper, and good manners." "Their charity is overflowing, if it were but more enlightened." They are selfish, timid, and rude, when travelling, and at public places (the New England women least so); too often intemperate; stately, when waiting upon guests at inns; not to be trusted to live in boarding-houses; interested in religion to the prejudice of their attention to "morals, politics, and philosophy"; and visited for "lapses" with disgrace, "temporary and superficial," when compared with English retribution. Their enunciation alternates "between a whine and a twang." "The most numerous and the worst pedants are middle-aged ladies." "While woman's intellect is confined, her morals crushed, her health ruined, her weaknesses encouraged, and her strength punished, she is told that her lot is cast in the paradise of woman." Her "business" (horrible to tell!) is "wifely and motherly occupation." She marries at her own pleasure, but too early, and too often with mercenary views; and "any one must see, at a glance, that, if men and women marry those whom they do not love, they must love those whom they do not marry." On the other hand, she is not easily enough divorced, the *beau idéal* of "marriage arrangements" being found in the canton of Zurich, where "the parties are married by a form, and have liberty to divorce themselves, without any appeal to law, on showing that they have legally provided for the children of the marriage."

Beautiful facility, and especially favorable to the rights of women! Hardly would the plan be more admirable, if there were no marrying at all. — "Health" waits to be a debtor to exercise and cleanliness. But here there is hope. "Dr. Combe's 'Principles of Physiology' has gone through several editions, and the demand of society for fresh air, and soap and water, has considerably increased in consequence."

"Children" in America are forward; but "till the United States cease to be republican, and their vast area is fully peopled, the children will continue as free and easy, and as important as they are." Withal, they are the subjects of a lenient discipline, and are remarkable for "dexterity, fearlessness, and presence of mind." In respect to children, as to other things, "the good people of Boston," are in several particulars especially at fault, being "more fond of excitement than of consistency." All children in the country, "whatever may be their views in life, are educated nearly alike up to nineteen. This is an absurdity copied from the old world, but unworthy of the good sense of the new;" a point upon which Miss Martineau had better break a lance with M. Lammartine (if she does not disdain such an antagonist), who has just been instructing the French Chamber of Deputies, to the effect, that the foundations of knowledge ought to be laid, and an elementary intellectual discipline prosecuted, substantially alike for all. "There is not even any systematic instruction given," — it is the Northern States particularly that are spoken of, — "on political morals." Is there not? We wonder what caused, for instance, such a multiplication of copies of that excellent work, the "Political Class Book."

"Some persons plead, that there is less occasion for school instruction in the principles of politics, than for an improved teaching of some other things; because children are instructed in politics every day of their lives by what they hear at home, and wherever they go. But they hear all too little of principles. What they hear is argumentation about particular men and immediate measures. The more sure they are of learning details elsewhere, the more necessary it is that they should here be exercised in those principles by which the details are to be judged and made available as knowledge. They come to school with their heads crammed with prejudices, and their memories with words, which it should be part of the work of school to reduce to truth and clearness, by substituting principles for the one, and annexing ideas to the other.

"A Sunday-school teacher asked a child, 'Who killed Abel?' 'General Jackson.'" — Vol. II. pp. 270, 271.

We should have taken for granted the authenticity of this anecdote, as well as been struck with its aptness to illustrate the point in hand, if we had not been accustomed from our youth to hear a different version of it, to the effect that a scion from a noble stock, who had presented himself for holy orders, was addressed by the examining clergyman, who wished to be indulgent in his scrutiny, with the question, "Who was the Mediator between God and man?" to which he replied, "The Archbishop of Canterbury."

Under the head of "Sufferers," Miss Martineau specifies criminals, paupers, lunatics, the blind, and the intemperate; and, like other intelligent travellers, speaks in a strain of general commendation of methods of reformation and relief, originated in this country. By "Utterance,"—who would have thought it?—the Bentham word-mint must be working still,—she means neither more nor less than Literature, in which she gives good and sufficient reasons, why the Americans should as yet be only beginning to begin. Particularly, she takes care to mention, that "there is no contribution yet to the Philosophy of Mind from America," Jonathan Edwards of course never having handled a pen; "no light has been given to society from the American press on the principles of politics," the Declaration of Independence, "The Federalist," and the "Defence of the American Constitutions," being so much wasted paper; and "America has yet witnessed no creation in the arts," Washington Alston's pictures, for example, being all among things still future. As to our reading,

"Some idea of the literary taste of the country may be arrived at through a mention of what appeared to me to be the comparative popularity of living or recent British authors.

"I heard no name so often as Mrs. Hannah More's. She is much better known in the country than Shakspeare. This is, of course, an indication of the religious taste of the people; and the fact bears only a remote relation to literature. Scott is idolized; and so is Miss Edgeworth; but I think no one is so much read as Mr. Bulwer. \* \* \* The next name is, decidedly, Mrs. Jameson's. She is altogether a favorite; and her "Characteristics of Women" is the book which has made her so. At a considerable distance follows Mrs. Hemans. Byron is scarcely heard of." — Vol. II. pp. 310, 311.

Here is a literary traveller, acquainted with literary men in America. "Mrs. Hannah More is much better known in the country than Shakspeare." So is Abulfeda better known in England than the Times newspaper. Mrs. More's "Practical Piety" has had a large circulation; but the idea of comparing the familiarity of our countrymen with her works to their acquaintance with Shakspeare, is of the most preposterous kind; and if our use of the religious writings of England, on the one hand, and of its older literature, on the other, was to be brought into question, Miss Martineau, had she taken care to inform herself at all upon the subject, could hardly have failed to mention a book in many more American hands, than either Mrs. More or Shakspeare. We speak of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," of which more than five hundred thousand copies have issued from the American press. "Scott is idolized; and so is Miss Edgeworth; but I think no one is so much read as Mr. Bulwer." Scott and Miss Edgeworth, — in different degrees, of course, — are throughout these States the mind's food and joy of childhood, and manhood, and age; by the side of theirs Mr. Bulwer's is but an inconsiderable, inefficient, circulating-library popularity. "The next name is decidedly Mrs. Jameson's." "At a considerable distance follows Mrs. Hemans. Byron is scarcely heard of." Had the study been to make this climax face precisely in the wrong direction, it could not have been more skilfully disposed. Byron scarcely heard of! Tell it not at the Trade Sale. Publish it not by the side of the advertisements. We wonder what the three sets of stereotype plates of his works, in large octavo, which we know to have been cast in this country, were made for; to say nothing of the multitudinous editions, of which one everywhere sees specimens, on almost all shades of paper, and suited to the capacities of all shelves and all purses. If there be one writer, more than all others, responsible for the freaks and follies and sins of our young people for the last twenty years, it is that same unheard of George Gordon, Lord Byron. From whom else were learned that skepticism unable to render a reason, that scowling gloom perpetually and sorely tasked to keep up its character, that admiration for persons sustaining to society the reputable relations of the bandit, and the bandit's unwedded love, which a few years ago, — for we grant that the fashion is rather pass-

ing by, — were professed by so many youth, brought up by sober parents, in an honest way, and having not an enemy nor a trouble in the world, to make a reasonable subject for their lugubrious looks and verses ? We happen to know, that one publisher alone has issued between thirteen and fourteen thousand copies of Lord Byron's works. Of Mrs. Hemans's poems, there are also two or three sets of stereotype plates, and more than thirty thousand copies have been printed ; while the circulation of Mrs. Jameson's writings, in whole or in part, according to the best information we can obtain, has amounted to about five thousand copies. " No living writer, however," continues Miss Martineau, " exercises so enviable a sway, as far as it goes, as Mr. Carlyle." There is much virtue in that clause, *as far as it goes*, inasmuch as, to supply this nation of fifteen millions, over which the author of the " Sartor Resartus " " exercises so enviable a sway," that work, — a work, too, which they have " taken to their hearts," and which " is acting upon them with wonderful force," — has, according to information on which we have the best reason to rely, been printed in but two editions, the first consisting of five hundred copies, and the second, after an interval of more than a year, being only twice as large.

Indeed, a writer, who meant to make facts the foundation of general strictures, was bound to use much more care in collecting them, than Miss Martineau has commonly exhibited. Sometimes the inaccuracy appears in such a way, as ludicrously to expose the folly of her pretensions to any acquaintance with the general subject under discussion ; as where, in a chapter entitled the " Apparatus of Government," she represents Mr. Kendall, while " a member of the cabinet " as " giving sanction to an audacious stoppage of the post-office function," in order to get himself advanced to the office of Postmaster-General. One so wise respecting the theory of our institutions, might have been supposed to know who were the President's advisers. Any clerk, in or out of Washington, could have told her, that, except by a departure from the usage of the government, Mr. Kendall could not have been in the Cabinet before he was at the head of the Post-office, unless he had been Attorney-General, or one of the four Secretaries of State, War, the Navy, and the Treasury ; neither of which offices Mr. Kendall has ever filled. — At other times, the erroneous statement has no such connexions, merely bringing out

a single fact with prominence for rhetorical effect. Still, if the fact was worth putting to that use, it was worth ascertaining first. Miss Martineau writes like a guide-book about the antiquities of Plymouth.

"We mounted Burial Hill; and when I trod the turf, after some weeks' walking over crisp snow, I began to feel that I might grow superstitious too, if I lived at Plymouth. Upwards of half the pilgrim company died the first winter. Fifty-one dropped in succession; and the graves of most of them are on this hill. Burial Hill was probably chosen to be a *memento mori* to the pious pilgrims; its elevation, bristling with grave-stones, being conspicuous from every part of the town. But, lest it should exhibit their tale of disaster to their foes, the Indians, the colonists sowed the place of their dead with corn; making it, for honest purposes, a whited sepulchre." — Vol. 1. pp. 101, 102.

Such things are not to be found out by guess, and nobody at Plymouth could have told our author what she here records. There is but one tradition, on the spot; and that is, that the sufferers of the first winter were buried in a quite different place from Burial Hill, viz. in a bluff by the water's edge. — The misrepresentation is made particularly offensive, when it subjects exalted private character to unmerited reproach, as in the coarse charge against the author of "Home," of what is qualified as "a surrender not only of the author's noblest prerogative, but of his highest duty;" an accusation, on which, for obvious reasons, we do not dwell, and which has already been exposed in the public prints, with a particular statement of the circumstances. But what are we to expect from the memory of a writer, who, while she studies that pointed expression, which is apt to fix a thought, — be it good or bad, — in the mind, does not remember it well enough to refrain from an equally emphatic denial and condemnation of it a few pages or a few lines further on, as the case may happen to be? At the beginning of her book, Miss Martineau is on stilts high enough, one might imagine, to give her some advantage for seeing what course she was about to travel. She there lays it down very solemnly that, at the early period of independence,

"Republicanism, like that which now exists in America, was a thing unheard of, — an idea only half-developed in the minds of those who were to live under it. Wisdom may spring, full-formed and accomplished, from the head of a god, but not from the brains of men. The Americans of the Revolution looked round

upon the republics of the world, tested them by the principles of human nature, found them republican in nothing but the name, and produced something more democratic than any of them; but not democratic enough for the circumstances which were in the course of arising. \* \* \* They planned something far transcending in democracy any republic yet heard of; and they are not to be wondered at, or blamed, if, when their work was done, they feared they had gone too far. They had done much in preparing the way for the second birth of their republic in 1789, and for a third in 1801, when the republicans came into power; and from which date, free government in the United States may be said to have started on its course." — Vol. i. pp. 17, 18.

"Washington was absolutely republican in his principles, but did not enjoy the strong faith, the entire trust in the people, which is the attendant privilege of those principles." — Vol. i. p. 19.

There is a page or two more of this sorry trash, (in which, by the by, our quiet, exemplary little neighbour State of Rhode Island must be amazed to find itself adduced as an illustration of "the fickleness and turbulence of very small republics";) but all is lost sight of before the chapter is finished, and on the last two pages, we learn that the danger of the Americans is, that they will not keep close enough to their first imaginations. "Their first idea was loftier than some which have succeeded;" and "the older they grow, the more must they reverence the dreams of their youth." — The later President Adams's "lot" is described as having been "that of all good Presidents in the quiet days of the republic"; and yet, — quiet as they were, — to the degree of affording a solution of a President's lot, — we learn, after two more lines, that General Jackson, elected, of course, towards the close of his predecessor's administration, was "brought into office by an overpowering majority, and after a series of strong party excitements." — Nor are the principles of judgment with this lady, — unconsciously to herself, of course, — less mutable than its results. Thus she was indignant at a hostess of hers, who spoke of respecting a favorite negro "almost as much as if he had been a white"; and at New Orleans, she scarcely "refrained from walking out of the church," because the preacher instituted a similar assuming comparison; but she finds no difficulty in complimenting some of her friends, by declaring, "in several abodes in which I resided, for a longer or a shorter time, the routine of the house was as easy and agree-



able as any Englishman's." — So she is infinitely merry, in one place, at an admonition given to a friend of hers, to "think of the example," and at the notion itself of "the effect of actions upon people's minds"; yet none the less, when she comes to treat of the American clergyman, does she urge his obligation to "discharge the duties of a citizen all the more faithfully, for the need which the public show themselves to be in of his example." — "Nothing, in American civilization," she declares, "struck me so forcibly and so pleasurably as the invariable respect paid to man as man. Nothing since my return to England has given me so much pain as the contrast there." But at Rockaway, — where we are quite sure that something must have gone sadly wrong, — she not only finds the evil existing, but recommends the repetition of it as the proper retribution and remedy. We are bound, however, in candor to say, that, in the latter case, the contempt prescribed is to be visited by the better upon the worse, and upon the bad thing done, rather than upon the doer; — that is, we suppose, if a way can be devised to show such a nicely discriminating contempt.

"The brand of contempt should be fixed upon any unprincipled or false-principled style of manners, in a community based upon avowed principles. The contempt thus inflicted upon the mode may possibly save the persons who would otherwise render themselves liable to it. The practice of ostentation may be lessened in America, as that of suicide was in France, by ridicule and contempt." — Vol. II. p. 217.

The old admiral, in the novel, drew a character thus; "I assure you he is a clever fellow, — that is, when I say, clever fellow, I mean nothing of the sort; — but you comprehend." Is Miss Martineau proposing a similar compliment to the intelligence of her readers? Or is it simply, that not exerting, as she writes, that attention, on which the philosophers say that memory depends, her memory plays her false?

When the retrospective glance of man's "large discourse, looking before and after," is so dim, its forward ken is not commonly found altogether sure and searching. Miss Martineau, doubtless, values herself most upon the latter faculty, both because it is of a higher order, and because its errors are not commonly subject to such easy and decisive correction. The eminent modesty and exactness of her prescience have chanced to be most seasonably illustrated together in one re-

mark, on a subject long familiar to her studies. Speaking of the pecuniary troubles of the period of the last war, she records, that the "local banks out of New England came to the agreement (*too senseless to be ever repeated*) to suspend specie payments." "Ever" is proverbially a long day; but the oracular sentence which declared what it was, which that long day would not bring about, was landed at New York not many days from the time of the universal crash of the banks from Maine to Louisiana. "Fears," it was long ago known, "are oft prophetic of the event"; alas, that as much may not be said of prognostics in so much pleasanter a strain.

We heartily wish Miss Martineau length of days, to grow wiser in, and write better books. Happy would it have been for her, — happy for her really well-endowed mind, and (at bottom, we still incline to believe) good heart, — if that flattery which so distressed her in America had not first so befooled her at home. She possesses a description of talent, which, had she but known what was its sphere, would have enabled her to write an uncommonly attractive book of travels. In undertaking subjects so much out of the beat of her capacities, she has but committed herself, and given pain to judicious readers. We have heard her, strangely enough, commended, for not using more, than she has done, her opportunities for collecting a scandalous chronicle. Let those thank her for that, who will. Is it so great a merit, to turn from a hospitable dwelling, and forbear to assail its peace with weapons which its hospitality gave the means to collect? On the contrary, we are compelled to say, though we have not cared to dwell upon the remark, that this want of respect for the sanctity of character is one of the painful peculiarities of Miss Martineau's work. Certain principles which she supposes to be sound, in this relation, are set forth in the last paragraph but one of her preface. They are guardedly stated. But if what they import and lead to is to be received as a lawful rule of procedure in such cases, there is an end to any meeting, in a man's own house, between one who is master of it, and a book-writing stranger. Miss Martineau has abounded in the imputation of reprehensible motives to men and bodies of high standing, for acts and practices, which only by arbitrary construction are liable to any such charge; and, to the best of our recollection, the unenviable distinction is hers, of having presented the first instances of this kind of assault. She professes to hold can-

dor in high estimation. But candor is not the only virtue in the world. It is no virtue, it has no place, when it has not for its basis carefully ascertained truth ; and, besides, there are moralists who would tell our loquaciously frank friend, that an unbridled tongue is a fierce chafer of a troubled spirit. That her book will in the end do much mischief of any kind, we are far from supposing. Things are moving on, with us in this western world, rightly or wrongly, with a force, and in a direction, which an imperfectly informed stranger's observations will do very little to check, change, or discredit. Besides, it is never worth while to ascribe great influence of any kind to incoherent writing. Plausibility without consistency, there is none ; an author's inconsistencies are, to a tolerably careful reader's view, his own exposures of his own incompetence. There will be, we dare say, some young women of both sexes, who will think they have got hold of some transcendental political philosophy, in Miss Martineau's dogmatical abstractions ; and the epigrammatic character of her rhetoric, when she thus plays the sage, may add something to its effect ; for not only with habitually indiscriminating readers, but with most readers, using only the negligent attention with which books of travels are commonly perused, pointed expression is apt to create some presumption of knowledge and sense on the part of the writer. But the intelligent are aware, that a confident way of uttering the thoughts is an altogether ambiguous sign ; since, besides those who see the whole of a subject, there are no less than two other classes of writers addicted to the use of pointed language ; viz. those who see nothing whatever beyond one side of a subject, who write when " so ignorant as not to know how ignorant they are," and those who assume a blustering tone, to disguise that deficiency of information and indefiniteness of thought, the embarrassing consciousness of which they cannot themselves escape. Crabbe tells us of one of his characters, who " put his anger on to hide his shame " ; so many a fair-seeming philosopher puts on a swaggering positiveness of phrase, to hide the faintness and tenuity of his mental apprehensions. As to the present instance, it is obvious enough, that, with great parade of thinking, Miss Martineau does not think. Thought issues in generalizations ; and the generalizing process finds congruities of some kind between independent facts. A thinker concludes something. His conclusion may be right ; it may be wrong ; he may conclude, that nothing can be con-

cluded ; but Miss Martineau's mental habits allow her the singular privilege (if her representations have been accompanied by thought at all) of believing a proposition, and equally believing its opposite. She finds no difficulty, on the one hand, in recommending to us, who had long ago taken some sound lessons in the school of a-regulated and beneficent liberty, a system of politics, which forty years ago was fully tried and found wanting, in France, making that beautiful country for the time a den of savages ; while on the other hand, she enters into elaborate statements, for the benefit of the friends of hereditary and military rule, showing that the experiment of free institutions, which the good and wise of the world have been watching with intense hope, has with us shamefully and desperately failed. Bad advice to us must come with some more winning adjuncts, and a bad report of us must be sent abroad in some less "questionable shape," before either is likely to work for us any fatal injury.

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ART. IX. — *The Philosophy of Human Nature, in its Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Relations ; with an Attempt to demonstrate the Order of Providence in the Threefold Constitution of our Being.* By HENRY M'CORMAC, M. D. London. Longman & Co. 1837. 8vo. pp. 564.

THIS book undertakes to teach the most important of the arts and sciences ; those of human life, considered in relation to the present and future. This is a philosophy which everybody is obliged to practise, with what success he may, and which, therefore, it behoves every one to study, and which it is our common interest that others should understand as well as ourselves. All the persons thrown together in social and economical relations, may be looked upon as performers in a great concert, in which each one is affected, — is disturbed, vexed, assisted, supported, or delighted, — with the discord or harmony of every other voice and instrument. There is no escaping from the concords and the dissonances of the numerous company. They will reach, and torment or please us ; in the most exalted positions, the remotest solitudes, and humblest pursuits. We must be auditors to the performances of the others as well as to our own ; there